

insist that there is consistency in what Jerry Brown has been saying over the past five years, and that it is only the juxtaposition of fiscal conservatism with his environmental and pro-minority priorities that baffles observers. "If you look at the record," says Barbara Metzger, Brown's press secretary at the state capitol, "you will find the same themes he is talking about now, tax cuts, anti-nuclear power, preserve the environment, open doors to minorities; it's all there since he first ran for governor in 1974, and those who criticize him for switching haven't taken the time to review the record."

Brown's venture into the presidential race might seem improbable were it not for two personal factors. One is his boundless confidence, the other his compulsive pursuit of ideas. A great measure of his attractiveness on the political scene is this frank commitment to the intellectual. He is, people who work with him say, "voracious" for ideas that have political relevance to the future; his backstage political life is a frenetic whirl of outreach to new people, midnight brainstorming with resource experts, soaking up details of some energy technology, astonishing experts by his quick comprehension and remarkable memory.

His office is evidence of this tumultuous searching, books chaotically piled, spilling across table surfaces even onto the floor, bright best-seller covers, paperbacks, and pamphlets the most vivid presence in the room. But the books deal mainly with three subjects: energy, economics, and environment. Those interests have consistently been woven through all his remarks back to 1974, as he called for reducing government, saving the forests, the whales, the oceans, the soil, exploring renewable, non-threatening energy sources. But the kaleidoscopic range in his attention overwhelms any sense of cohesion. He does at least defy the stereotype of politicians, with his references to Camus, John Maynard Keynes, Jacques Cousteau, and Milton Friedman interwoven with allusions to Franklin D. Roosevelt and John F. Kennedy, and all are sources he has absorbed, not quotations dotted through the pages of a speech.

"My mind has a wide range," he once explained, "and that troubles a lot of people. I have a variety of intellectual and political resources. I believe in the politics of inclusion, not exclusion. I can put a Verne Orr [Governor Ronald Rea-

gan's finance director] on the university board of regents on one hand, and on the other Tom Hayden [the former student activist who now heads the California Campaign for Economic Democracy] on Solar-Cal [the state council for solar energy]. I believe in mobilizing the positive energies from a wide range and that's what I'm trying to do . . . but to some people my various thoughts seem incompatible with each other.

"For instance, some think the ecology movement is a revolt against technology, but the photovoltaic cell represents advanced technology and is completely compatible with the environment. I am trying to carve out a reasonable path and I think the balancing approach is just that."

As a matter of fact, Brown can dwell at length on the virtues of the "canoe theory" of political leadership ("You paddle a little on the left side, then you paddle on the right side"). This struck the public as a hilarious witticism. He offers it now quite seriously, embarking on a discussion of positive and negative electrical impulses, the pull-and-resist tensions in human relationships.

Brown exudes confidence, and the 1,350,000 margin by which he was re-

elected governor last November has not diminished it, though experience has smoothed some edges from the early sophomoric brashness. Undertaking the presidential contest now, he draws confidence, too, from knowing that, despite a tardy entry, he bested Carter in five 1976 primaries—Maryland, New Jersey, Rhode Island, Nevada, and California.

Some see Brown's confidence as arrogance, especially when he launches into public rebuke of university professors, judges, lawyers, or doctors as overpaid and underdedicated to their tasks. But his personal certitude gives a kind of jaunty self-possession to his venture into the national contest.

What is remarkable about the Californian's bid is the degree to which it rests on the candidate alone. Personality politics has long been the California style; adherents cultivated around the individual rather than the party, money centered on the candidate and rarely shared, campaigns more and more the creation of media specialists. In this solitary fashion, Brown sets forth.

He has, of course, a campaign aff, a

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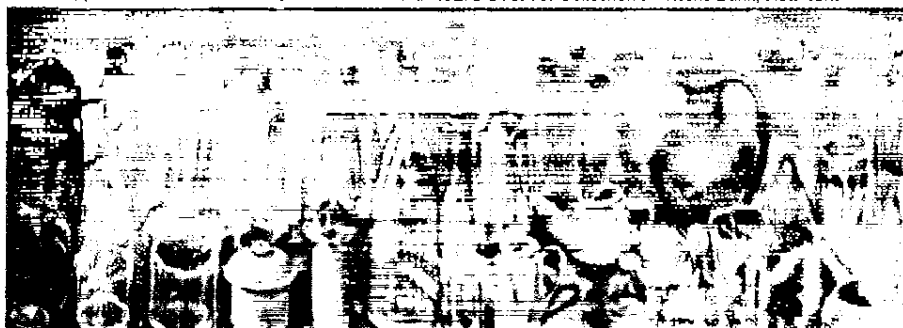
Andy Warhol, SELF-PORTRAIT, 1978.
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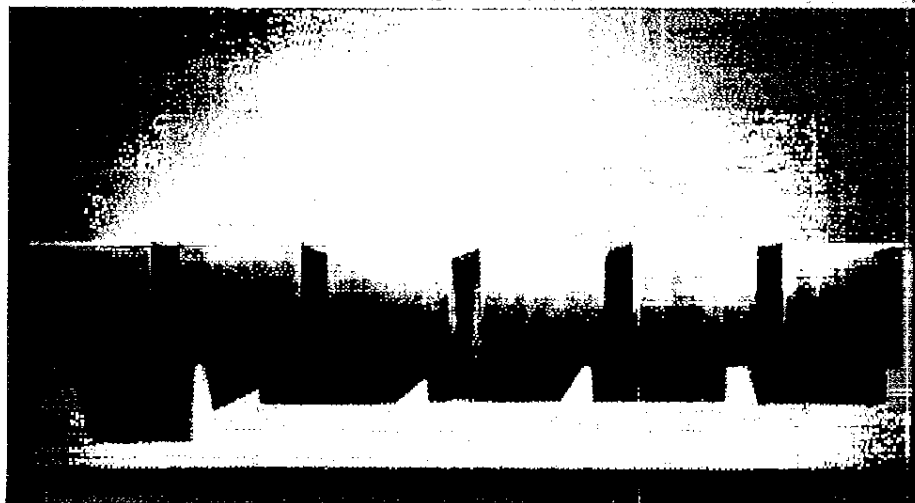
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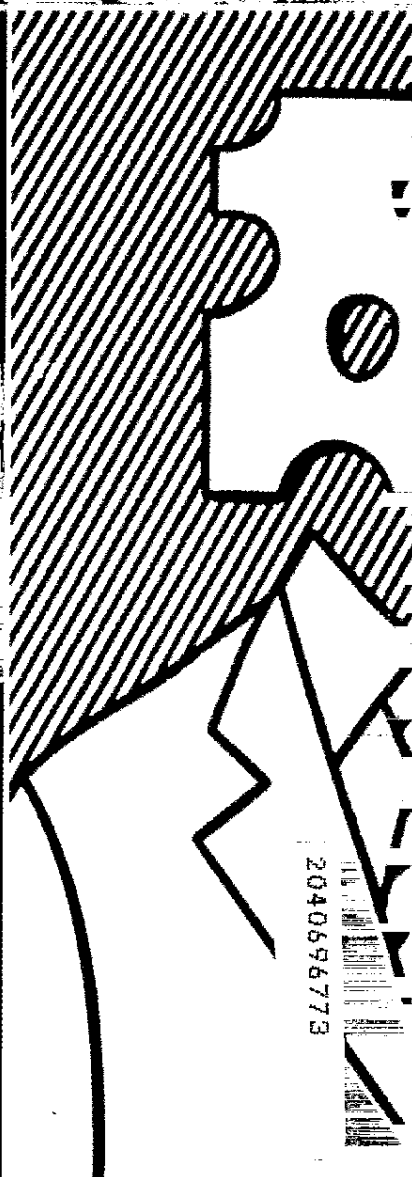
Jim Dine, (STILL LIVES) PAINTING ON MANHATTAN ISLAND, 1978. Collection Deutsche Bank, New York



Robert Morns, WHEELS, 1963.
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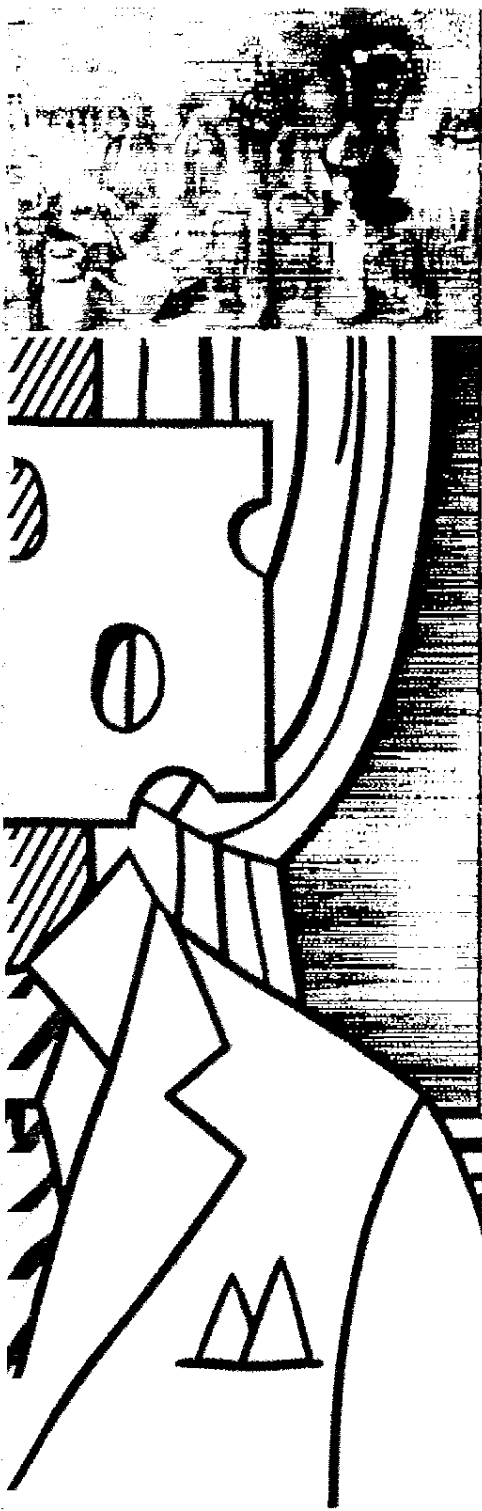
Donald Judd, UNTITLED, 1966-1968. Layton Art Collection, Milwaukee Art Center



Roy Lichtenstein, PORTRAIT, 1977. Private collection

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ng on here?



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Once these artists and their works were separately sealed in boxes labeled "pop" and "minimal." Now we can see them as part of the whole, of the single thread of our lives and times—in a stunning new exhibition organized by the Milwaukee Art Center titled "Emergence and Progression: Six Contemporary American Artists," the first that brings together their disparate responses to their common challenge.

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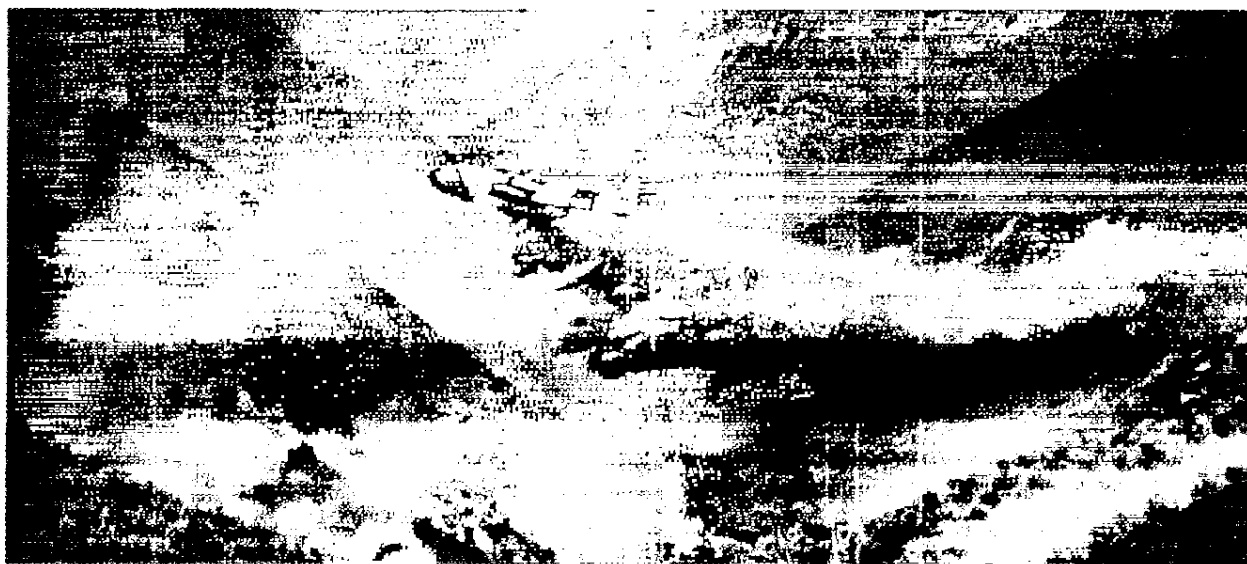
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"Emergence and Progression: Six Contemporary American Artists" appears at the Milwaukee Art Center, Milwaukee, WI October 11 to December 9, 1979; Virginia Museum of Fine Art, Richmond, VA January 16-March 2, 1980; J. B. Speed Art Museum, Louisville, KY April 1-June 29; New Orleans Museum of Art, New Orleans, LA June 25-September 14, 1980. This exhibition is made possible by grants from Philip Morris Incorporated, Miller Brewing Company and Philip Morris Industrial.

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